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a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

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304 Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

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562 In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

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593 Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child, though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

there is little forcing of children,[10] and this might be just as significant in accounting for the easy going security of Okinawans as that coming from breast feeding and carrying on the back, but a single element explanation is not a fruitful approach to this complex subject.

The chief factors in child development, in my observation, are the child's early and continuous contact with the mother, and the "public" life of the child[11] and its early exposure to the activities, the admonishments, the corrections, the admiration, and the fondling of others. Older women of the village have a major part in this, but young men and women look after a child, advise it, correct it, perhaps feed it. This "public" life is made easier because a child carried on the back, or toddling, or, later, in walking is seldom out of the view of a relative. It is common to talk with a villager in a public place and to discover that two or three of the children playing there are cousins, nieces, nephews, or more distant relatives. It is this combination of impressions and pressures, in my opinion, rather than planned training, which induces conformity and makes a child part of the village life. Certainly the standards of public and private behavior, transmitted from the parent, is reinforced at a much earlier age than in American society, by community approval, disapproval, and assistance. Part of this is due to the fact that a village, even its government, takes on some of the attributes of a large family.

Okinawan rural children grow up speaking Okinawan (Okinawago). There is no standard Okinawan and local dialectical differences are very marked. The chief distinctions seem to be in accent and

[text continues top of p. 268--analyst]

10 There is an interesting passage in Captain Hall's voyage. Hall's party observed a boy tumbling. He stopped when he saw he was observed and could not be induced to continue. Hall's company asked an Okinawan friend to get the boy to continue. This he did without success, and feigned anger when the boy would not go on. Thereupon the persuasion stopped, the Okinawan observing, "It was for his own amusement that he began, and probably for his own amusement he will do so again." The boy resumed his tumbling when he was ignored. Hall wrote that the Okinawan showed good sense in not compelling the boy to continue "that as a task, which he had begun as an amusement, and which he had discernment enough to know would be unpleasant for us to witness in any other way. By this treatment of their children, mutual cordiality and freedom of intercourse are encouraged. It was probably owing to this mode of education that the children became at once familiar with us." Account of a voyage to west Corea and the Great Loochoo, as cited, 211.

11 This happy phrase, I believe, was first used by Miss A. M. Bacon in her still excellent book, Japanese girls and women, New York, 1907.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment, rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in [155] my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community.

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The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is foreign to the other.

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to [867] ● the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the [593] younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young.

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans [177] and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change. A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder.

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior [362] makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional garden into a camp-like atmosphere.

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal [167] awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the [177] non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings.

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours."

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties.

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged.

625 went out for fugitives from the south, he would accompany the police-
[632] man or investigate himself. In cases of death, both he and the police-
[647] man have to make a report.

The Young People's Association may serve as a vigilante in emer-
[575] gencies such as fires, floods, tornadoes, and other disasters. When a
[731] military jeep was reported to have been stolen near Naha and driven on the dead-end road running north, the young people in all villages on the way erected road blocks and were ready to help catch the thief. The group would act together in a similar fashion at any threat from outsiders.

622 The headman can only enforce local ordinances insofar as he is
681 able to persuade people to comply. He is not concerned directly with
[625] crime or disturbance of the peace. Exceptions are such matters as stealing sugar cane or letting chickens run loose so that they enter every yard. For such acts, money fines can be imposed. One warden still has a tag which used to be given to the man whose chickens ran around freely. The offender had to pay the fine and keep the tag until he detected someone else's chicken running loose. Then he could pass the
[626] tag on to that person. Such measures are no longer used. But the underlying principle of public censure and fear of ridicule continues to operate in village social control.

623 Public censure is used along with fines to ensure attendance at vil-
626 lage meetings. Roll call is taken before each meeting so that the ab-
[681] sence of individuals is made known to the whole group. Similarly, when tax collections became more and more delinquent, it was decided to have ward meetings in which everybody would be reminded in public to pay his share. Those who were unable to do so would have to state their reasons. As soon as this new plan was announced, several people got up during the meeting to pay outstanding amounts to the head-
872 man. The school uses similar devices to achieve better attendance and scholarship. During home visit week, about once a year, a meeting is held for all parents and the statistics for attendance for each village are read as well as scholastic performances for each community.

INFORMAL CONTROL

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626 What other people might think is uppermost on everybody's mind.
● [867] Children are reminded by their mothers not to play alone lest people would think they are unpopular. They are told not to fight lest others think badly of them or make them responsible for the consequences. Censure by gossip is common, but criticism is seldom made directly to a person's face, and the target of extensive gossip is often unaware of it.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

An exception to this was the case of a junior high school girl who left her mother and stepfather and went to live in the city. The incident was known to all villagers within a short time, and gossip was rife, but referring to the case directly in the presence of the mother was avoided. When the mother finally heard the gossip, she contended that the story had been circulated by a certain family, singled out the woman of that house (who happens to be one of the few Christians in Taira) and told her in no uncertain words that she, as a Christian who wants to do good and others to be good, should know better than to spread evil gossip. 626 156

Concern with the affairs of other villagers is, of course, a result of the general intimacy between people. Not only one's immediate family but also anyone in Taira is aware of what happens to others in the community, and the right to such knowledge of private and family matters does not seem to be denied by anybody. People ask and receive answers, and news travels rapidly from one house to another. In considering the fear of censure and its effectiveness in social control, however, one should not forget that, conversely, the concern of others for one's life leads to a feeling of belonging and the expectation of help and affection.

Children are part of the gossip channel in that they are talkative and report news. They do not seem to invent malicious stories but do join in fun making at other people's expense. [867]

Being too malicious is censured. Older people still remember that they heard in their youth about old wicked women who could bring a curse on others. The term for curse still connotes a person who is disliked or who snoops excessively in other people's affairs. [754]

If possible, nobody is deliberately made subject to public exposure in case of wrongdoing. A township official, who by virtue of his office was also a member of the village council, showed little interest and responsibility toward the community. When the village meeting deliberated whether township officials should continue to be made members of the village council, his name was not mentioned, although the case was discussed at length in public. The final decision was to give him another chance. This, too, is characteristic of community behavior. Ostracism and complete rejection of serious offenders against the community would be a most serious punishment. This in itself would give the community a bad standing. A common front toward the outside is preferred, so that all drastic actions are left only for extreme cases. Rather, one tries to get along, even with a deviant person. Individuals between whom disagreement exists act friendly toward each other in public. 626 627 156

A deep sense of mutual obligation and duty not only toward imme- 626 156

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1964-1965) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

626 156 [479] diate relatives but also toward members of the entire community, and even certain strangers, appears in many contexts. Any villager feels a sense of obligation to participate in mutual assistance, and someone who fails to live up to this obligation is severely criticized. A person who commits a crime is said to have no feeling of obligation, and it seems clear that the infrequency of transgression, either the violation of mutual help codes or more serious infractions, is held in check by fear of censure.

626 577 ●867 [177] [571] The Japanese moral code, which stresses obligations and feelings of indebtedness and gratitude toward those from whom favors have been received, is obviously related to such social control forces or is in fact identical with them. Japanese ethical training was part of school training before World War II, and it is still deeply valued and followed. That any close-knit community tends to foster such forces of control is common knowledge. Yet the positive attitude toward obligations and their elaboration in interpersonal relationships is noteworthy and characterizes an important aspect of Taira life. It is learned early, as we found out when one mother said about her 4-year-old daughter: "She understands the idea (of obligations and indebtedness), although she does not know the concepts." When the family receives a gift, the little girl asks, "Shall we take some fish (a counter present) to them?" In spite of the positive value mentioned, there seem to be few compulsions connected with obligations. Actions appear spontaneous rather than forced. Of course, these obligations are of importance in determining contributions of individual households at weddings, funerals, and other occasions where interpersonal ties are cemented.

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Chapter 6

Social Organization

571 In every society an individual belongs to a number of groups, overlapping in membership and differentiated by function. A resident of Taira is no exception. Some groups are open, that is to say, new mem-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility.

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.*

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings.

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

867 593 as well as comfort him. The support and the nurturance of his older brothers and sisters help in softening the blow and may also function as role model behavior. Even children who had shortly been weaned were observed responding very nurturantly and affectionately toward their newborn siblings. It is difficult to rely wholely on the premise that the greater emphasis placed on the child by his grandmother and the constant attention paid to his status as an older sibling would nullify any aggressive intents. The wistful statement made by a 10-year-old in the form of a wish to be his baby sister because she is loved and indulged by everyone certainly indicates envy as well as the child's clear view of the protection and nurturance given to young infants.

866 In summary, this period is an unhappy interlude for the Taira child. He is forced to give up the indulgencies of infancy. He is punished for demanding behavior and must now confine dominating behavior to his grandmother. He must shift his dependence from his mother to his grandparents and siblings and finally to his peers. He does this only after a period of stormy protests.

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Chapter 15

Kindergarten

872 858 It is necessary to define the term "kindergarten child" as it is used in Taira. The group includes all children from weaning until the age of 6. The younger ones are carried to the morning sessions, whereas the older ones go on their own. Kindergarten may thus be likened to a mass baby-sitting session. An adult, scolding an 8-year-old who smears mud all over concrete walls, by calling him a kindergarten child is belittling his intellectual maturity. Finding a newly planted field trampled, an adult will quickly volunteer: "Oh, it must have been the kindergarten children; they don't know any better."

[861] Taira adults feel that children under 6 years "do not have sense." Because of this belief, they are considered uneducable. Serious training and instruction pertinent to the standards and values of Taira society

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

are therefore generally postponed until the child is believed to be endowed with this mysterious capacity to "understand and know." Kindergarten children pilfer from gardens, have temper tantrums, and attack each other physically, but very little enforcement takes place. "They are only children, we can't expect them to know any better," say adults.

In spite of this distinction, there is not a complete laissez-faire handling of the still "senseless" child. On the contrary, the child is subject to a number of restrictions. Adults assiduously attempt to train him to say "Please" and "Thank you," "Good morning," "Good day," and "Good-bye." One mother and her eldest daughter were observed trying to teach the youngest child, an 8-month-old girl, to say "Thank you." A piece of brown sugar was extended, withdrawn, given and taken from the baby until she had twice performed the act indicating "Thank you." Mother and daughter took the baby's hands, folded one over the other, palm side up and raised it, saying at the same time, "Ah-ah," baby talk for "Thank you." The situation was not without fussing and screaming on the part of the young child.

Adults often push the young child's head down to say "Hello," and, if he lets out screams of protest, all laugh hilariously. The child inevitably joins in the laughter and the adults taunt, "Know-nothing." Three and 4-year-olds playing in the dirt along the lanes are picked up and taken to the faucets for a wash down and a scolding, "Dirty! Cat!" Although such enforcement occurs, it is negated when the child starts crying. "Here, here, don't cry; mother was bad" (for scolding you) placates the adult, hugging and cradling the child.

One mother complained that her tomato patch was constantly being raided. When asked whether she knew who was doing it, she said, "Yes, they are kindergarten children." Questioned further as to why she did not scold them or talk to their parents, she said, "It's no use, they are too young to talk to, and besides, I would not like to talk to their mothers because, who knows, my own girls who are under 6 years old may be doing something like that too."

Playing with water is the favorite pastime of young children. During all times of the day a group of them gather at the water tank or at faucets to puddle and "wash." When the water supply was limited, adults would pause in passing by to scream, "Eeyah!" once, then go on, shaking their heads while the children paused only momentarily to look up and then continued with their play.

In the morning, after adults have departed for the fields and mountains and older children have left the village for school, the kindergarten child leaves home with two or three sweet potatoes in his hand

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

nails. One or two girls stand fearfully, almost in tears, while others subject themselves to inspection with aplomb. The boys by now are mocking the teacher by inspecting each other and commenting on the failure to meet the test. A few little girls disgustedly say, "These boys, wish we did not have to have them!"

After a brief lecture on cleanliness and orderliness, the teacher asks all to count the number of children present. Immediately there is bedlam as all start to count aloud. She quickly takes a count herself and waits for the first child to answer. As she listens to the shouts, she points out the child who has the right answer and says, "That is right, now let us count together. You, Sachiko, at the head of the line, one, next, Nariko, two. . . ."

Following this counting, the teacher may present a simple lesson in manners. She tells each child down the line to answer with a crisp "hai," then to state his name in full. The oldest girls respond obediently and help their 3- and 4-year-old siblings. As she approaches the line of boys, she frowns and nods. Each boy shouts his answer and name in spite of her protests to the effect that she is not hard of hearing. From somewhere near the end of the line comes a loud voice, "Hai, Taira, Saburo-san!" She quickly moves over to the possessor of the voice and taps the boy on his cleanly shaven head. The noise of the tap is sharp and clear. It induces a hearty round of laughs from all the children. The censured boy stands rubbing his head and smiling at the teacher as she tells him that he knows well one does not use the honorific suffix with one's own name.

The teacher does not attempt to present further lessons. Instead, she asks what kind of games the children would like to play. Shouts of "Race, race!" drown out her instruction to organize into teams. From the back of one 6-year-old girl she unstraps a screaming infant. With one arm cradling the infant, she drums to spur on the runners. From the direction of the village store, a grandmother comes slowly shuffling to join the group. She points out the 2-year-old on the back of his 5-year-old sibling who is starting off on his share of the run. The mother of the screaming infant comes running down the path to relieve the teacher of her burden. She sits nearby on a fence stone to nurse the baby and spur the runners on. Other adult passersby stop briefly to watch the runners, encourage them with shouts to run a little faster, clap their hands to congratulate a winner, and console a loser with advice to try harder the next time.

After the races the children sit and sing songs with the teacher. In their sitting positions they "act out" the songs with motions of their arms. The teacher releases her hold on the drumsticks as a 4-year-old

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

872 876 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collecting shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real lessons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher; if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 857 [875] The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 [576] [515] [291] Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before entering the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, however, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the back.

855 867 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village, adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards. The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers screamed, "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him, and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

861 Physical punishment is much more frequent than the mothers' [124 interview answers would lead one to believe. In parent-child or sib- [593 ling interactions observed by us, the scolding or talking was usually simultaneous with a sharp crack on the head with the knuckles or a slap on the buttocks. It is true that a great deal of leeway is generally given the child, but mothers home from a strenuous day in the fields are more apt to scream and spank at the same time.

Tying of hands or feet for several minutes, or as much as an hour, is considered appropriate punishment for those who trespass into forbidden areas or play with taboo things like matches. Sometimes the child's wrists are tied with a piece of rice-straw rope to the front house posts. One 4-year-old boy wandered down to the beach to play with his 3-year-old cousin despite repeated warnings from his mother to the effect that this area was dangerous. Because he disobeyed this rule, he was tied hand and foot. In addition, he was spanked because at the same time he had abandoned his younger brother in the village to go to the beach with his cousin.

861 Another type of physical punishment, which is often threatened but 857 rarely used, is cauterizing a piece of skin on the neck, back, or hands with moxa. Children in play situations frequently act out giving moxa to a naughty child with a lot of teasing and mock anger. "Come here, you naughty one, we will give you moxa," they scream to each other. A 4-year old girl was cauterized by her father when she threw her chop- [261 sticks on the floor in a fit of anger. Because he believed that food was not only the product of hard labor but also a sort of blessing from the gods, he felt that this very painful enforcement was just.

861 Grandmothers, in particular, use pinching to enforce some rules of • 867 etiquette. If a child forgets and extends his foot toward another person, she will take the flesh of the leg between her thumb and index finger, lift it and with a quick twist administer a punishment which is very painful. After the initial experience, all she has to do is to put her hand in position for pinching to her lips and breathe out audibly as if to say, "I'm warming up!" and the child will correct himself.

861 Older brothers and sisters are apt to be "quicker with the hand," ac- 593 cording to mothers. Generally they agreed that this may be the reason [857 for their effectiveness in handling their younger charges. Frequently all an older sibling needs to do is to raise a warning hand, look disapprovingly, or call with a stern voice when his charge is about to misbehave.

Although mothers do most of the spanking, scolding, and talking, children fear their fathers a great deal more than they do their mothers. Mothers claim that this is true in most cases and offer an ex-

planation: "Maybe this is because the children know well our strength. They don't know their father's strength but believe somehow that it could be much more painful." One could, of course, relate this to the cultural concept of maleness as opposed to femaleness as discussed previously.

Praising and rewarding are techniques that are administered in a very haphazard fashion in Taira. While the child is still very young, up until he is about 2, praise and rewards are lavished on him for almost anything. If he responds to his mother's entreaties to hand over a stick with which he might hurt himself or to bow when meeting someone, he is hugged, kissed, and told over and over, "Good child, good child."

As the child grows older, these extravagant displays of praise and reward lessen. Instead the child may receive promises of something good to eat or a coveted article of clothing in return for some good deed or commendable behavior. Generally the child has to remind his mother many times before he is actually rewarded. By the time the child is of school age he takes these promises with a grain of salt and usually forgets them himself. Only when the children were questioned by us on rewards did it become obvious that parents promised a great deal more than they could ever hope to produce. For, from the plain view of economics, no family could purchase all the goodies pledged for good behavior. Nevertheless, for younger children these promises mean something, and they always look forward to the day when their mothers will color their evening rice red or make them some fried dumplings. Rewarding a child with food proves to be as effective a technique of socialization as threatening to deprive him of food.

Occasionally, in a rare burst of enthusiasm, parents may reward a child to make up for all the empty promises. During one of the rice harvests, a 10-year-old boy worked alongside his parents with as much concentrated effort as any adult. All day he stayed in the fields without running away to join his playmates, as some other boys his age did. At the end of the day his mother prepared some festive food. She colored the rice, and the dinner was a merry one. The man from next door who had helped out that day sat drinking sake with the boy's father. "Here, why don't you have some sake, you did as much work as any of us," offered the father. Neighbor and mother urged the boy on and laughed merrily as the boy sipped a bit of the sake.

Even before he is able to understand the significance of the words, a child in Taira is praised and censured with "good child," and "naughty child." Especially during infancy, mothers will tease babies by gently slapping them and saying over and over with mock anger,

followed by "nee?", "isn't it so?" In this manner the adult communicates what little that must be communicated to these sub-human beings that are constantly underfoot. To other adults he uses other verb forms, other words, longer and more tightly integrated sentences. He does so, I believe, confident that he is speaking over the heads of the children, though he would deny that this was his motive; his use of different forms in addressing adults would be more likely explained as motivated by respect for the adults. I believe that in this manner Okinawan children are mentally more isolated from adults than are American children, though physically they are in greater contact with them. In time, of course, children learn to understand the conversation of their elders, but they do so without asking questions or overtly showing much interest. Thus very gradually they come into the adult world.

The interpretation just presented is more an hypothesis that seeks to explain some features of Okinawan behavior than a fact that can be indisputably demonstrated. But it suggests a reason, though probably not the only one, for the strong tendency to retain Okinawan as the language of the home, even in families where the adults speak Japanese fairly well, regard it as superior, and use it on formal occasions. Okinawan is suitable for addressing children. Adults unconsciously prefer it because it makes it that much easier for them to differentiate between the speech used in addressing children and that used in addressing adults. Moreover, I believe this interpretation agrees with what appears to be a marked tendency in Okinawan society for the educated deliberately to talk over the heads of the uneducated. I will discuss this again under the heading education.

Discipline Parents appear to want their children to be agreeable in their relations with others and industrious at school. They praise the gentle (J. 'otonashii') child and the good student. Yet they seem to tolerate noisiness, disregard for property, and to some extent disregard for person, though they may be more tolerant of this sort of behavior in boys than in girls. On one occasion Pitts and Lebra presented an old man with several photographs that they had taken of him and his grandson. As they handed the photographs to the old man, the boy snatched one and in doing so tore it. The old man was visibly hurt at the loss of the photograph, but said nothing to the child at all. On the other hand one of us also once saw a grandmother reach over and pinch a somewhat older girl quite severely because she was lying with her legs apart.

Where behavior thought to be of a more serious nature is concerned, parents do attempt to control their children. They do so by coaxing, bribing, threatening, teasing, scolding, and, for most as a last resort, by corporal punishment. Scolding takes such forms as "dirty!", "shameful!", "You will be laughed at", etc. While being scolded the child need not answer; he may simply look at the ground and remain silent. Since he is not expected to answer he may be less inclined to construct elaborate excuses in the manner of the American child. The threats include such things as "we'll send you away", "we'll sell you to the Itoman people" (to a boy), "we'll sell you to the juri" (to a girl), "we'll give you to the Americans", "we'll call the police", "we'll call a cat (or some kind of bogey) to scare you," "you'll receive divine retribution." Since children are sometimes put out of the house as

later told the story to Lebra in the child's presence with a good deal of relish, while the boy merely looked sheepish and said nothing. 861

Punishment may be by either parent or by a grandparent. Other relatives may scold. I once observed a four-year-old being scolded long and shrilly by her father's sister. I asked why the mother, who was just inside the house, did not do the scolding and I was told that the child would not mind her mother and so the aunt had had to step in. I was also given the impression that the child's mother would hardly have dared defend her. It seems likely that mothers and grandmothers punish most frequently but that fathers, though they punish less frequently, are more severe; they are certainly more feared. It is said that after a child is punished it is usually comforted by the adult who punished it. There are, of course, individual differences. One man at Nanahan was known to be particularly harsh with his children. Pitts observed him on one occasion chasing one of his children around the village with a strap.

Okinawan adults, especially women, frequently tease children. On two occasions I saw a particularly cocky little boy of three or four teased in a deliberate attempt to make him angry or to make him cry. On the first occasion one of his aunts, his mother's oldest sister, struck the boy's baby sister, pretending to hurt her. He was very fond of the baby and the object of the teasing seemed to be to arouse his sympathy to the point where he would have showed his emotions, at which point, I assume, the crowd of women would have laughed. This time the teasing was unsuccessful. On the second occasion his mother and her sisters told him first that I was going to take him away, then that I was going to take his little sister away, and produced other variations on this theme. After several minutes of this he went grimly over to his mother and began hitting her with his fists. The women all regarded this as great sport. No effort was made to stop him from hitting his mother. This sort of teasing seems to have amusement as its main object, but probably has other functions as well. It may possibly provide women a necessary outlet for feelings of hostility, especially against males. But it may also have the more important functions of producing in the child the desirable emotional responses---sympathy for the little sister, fear of losing her, fear of being separated from home---while at the same time conditioning the child to inhibit the expression of these emotions. 855 [154] [867]* [152]

On another occasion I saw the mother of the children just mentioned hold out a lighted match in front of the baby until the baby, after regarding it in wonderment, reached out and was burned. The women watched expectantly and laughed when the baby cried, but in this case the act seemed more like deliberate instruction in the properties of fire than merely teasing. But as in teasing, the discomfort to the child is something not to be avoided but rather to be enjoyed. And as in teasing, the child learns to associate laughter with his own discomfort, or perhaps with his expression of his discomfort. He may thereby learn to avoid being laughed at because it is associated with discomfort, and to avoid the expression of discomfort because it brings laughter. [861] [155]

up; he is made to find most of his needs satisfied by his mother and then he is told that he may be given away if he is not obedient; later he is made to believe that the spirits of his ancestors are protecting him, but when he becomes ill he is told that it is because he has not given them enough offerings. The threat in each of these instances is abandonment, being cut off from his family, because of insufficiency---disobedience or unfiliality. The fear that this threat creates does much to maintain the family system. It probably also accounts for the fear Okinawans seem to have of being alone, and their frequent use, remarked upon by several observers, of the word 'sabishii', "lonely". It may also account for their frequently expressed view of Okinawa itself as a lonely, remote, and neglected island. 152 593 [829]

Family life also provides the individual with a pattern for human relationships. In the family he learns what behavior is appropriate to the status of older sibling and younger sibling, parent and child, male and female; he learns about authority, responsibility, and mutual obligation. This pattern of relationships learned in the family he reads into the larger society, and, entering the larger society he assumes the roles learned in the family. He defers to seniors; he expects juniors and females to defer to him. If he is a farmer he may expect instruction and support from the government, as a child expects it from his parents. If he is an official or a teacher he may at times deliberately speak down to the less educated and at other times deliberately speak over their heads, as a parent does with his children. 593 867

It seems that several phenomena of recent years should have weakened the old family system. The war destroyed much of the physical reminders of the past and nearly every family lost one or more of its members. The subsequent shift in population further uprooted many. The repatriation brought back people who had long been away, and with them, new ideas. The American occupation has given rural Okinawans a mobility they could not have imagined before. It has provided jobs for many of the younger people, which could mean a degree of economic independence that they could never have had otherwise. The schools have given young people of the opposite sexes more opportunity to meet on a respectable basis than they had ever had before. Yet we find families carrying on in spite of the shift in residence and the loss of important members, repatriates being reintegrated into the larger kin groups, and young people who might be independent turning their earnings over to their elders and asking their elders' permission to marry. Obviously family ties are still strong. 593 178 177

But the structure of the family may still be changing. The relationship between the behavior of individuals in the family and in the larger society is a reciprocal one. It is quite likely that the individual takes the roles that he has learned as a child in the family and plays them as an adult in the larger society, as he interprets its structure. But it is also likely that if the larger society is in a process of change, the individual may reinterpret his roles or even learn new ones to conform to the new structure. He may then go back to his family as a parent and reinterpret its structure on the basis of what he has learned. His behavior as a parent then becomes different from his father's before him. One of the professed aims of the Civil Administration on Okinawa is the democratisation of Okinawan society. [185]